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grades include friends, sister's husband, grand-father and elder brother's wife. 833 [602]

From the above, it will be clear that sex and sin have not become interchangeable words to the Santal as we find in civilization. The refinements of sex, being the other name for perversions, are as much unknown to the Santal as cunning and craft. In coition, all that our enquiries revealed was that the various postures adopted by civilized societies are not known to them, as possible or natural. One educated Santal told us that he knew a case in which a man confessed that he cohabited with a girl during the rains, and as no other position was possible, they adopted the averse position of a goat. When the story was narrated, people laughed heartily. On our question as to what would be the effect of the story on women-listeners, he said that they also would have thought it funny, because it is so unnatural. 833 833 522

Although there was considerable discrepancy as to the number of times the Santals indulge in coitus, five times a day can be put as the maximum. But this is before the birth of children. When the parties get children, they cohabit once or twice a day and there may be gaps of a day. When three or four children are born three or four days may be omitted. But as stated before, on the average, they copulate twice daily, and the minimum may be 833

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They have no memory of ever having possessed the institution, but a snatch of song once heard suggests that they did at some period abandon it. In a *Sohrae* song occur the words

> The young girls are sleeping in the girls' house,
> The young men are sleeping in the young men's cowshed.[1]

If, as seems likely, they once had such an institution, it is probable that the *jogmañjhi* and his wife were in charge. At some festivals the young men sleep at the house of the *jog mañjhi*, and at the time of the *Sohrae* they go to him at the beginning of the festival and ask him in formal language to turn a blind eye to any of the faults they commit during that time. He is also called in to investigate allegations of immoral behaviour. The appointment is for life and it is hereditary, like that of the headman. In every village there are also two priests, who are responsible for maintaining right relations with the unseen world, but it will be more convenient to deal with their functions at a later stage.[2]

The humblest of the village officials is the *godet'*, the bailiff and messenger of the headman. When a child is born or a villager dies, it is the *godet'* who carries the news to all the houses. If it becomes necessary to summon the men of the village to a council to announce the near approach of a marriage party, or to collect dues from the houses for a feast in connection with a festival, it is the *godet's* duty to see that it is done. He is the errand boy, and consequently something of a butt for the wit of the village, as the following song (sung during the *Sohrae* festival) bears witness:

> Here comes the headman walking slowly,
> And here comes his deputy with wooden sandals,
> And also the *godet'* calling out to everyone.
>
> Put out a woven bed for the headman to sit on,
> Put out a wooden stool for his deputy,
> And put out for the *godet'* a broken bed.
>
> Pour out for the headman the first brew of beer,
> Pour out for his deputy the second brew,
> Pour out for the *godet'* the leavings.
>
> Give to the headman cakes of sifted flour,
> Give to his deputy some coarser cakes,
> And give to the *godet'* the lumpy bits.[3]

[1] See Appendix B, No. 1.
[2] See Appendix B, No. 2.
[3] See Chapter 7

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It would be a mistake to suggest that the attitude of the Santal towards intoxicants is one of simple approval. There are two standards at work. There is, on the one hand, the almost universal acceptance of the habit, reinforced by its sanction in mythology, the social function that it does fulfil and the fact that it is a form of food. There is also, on the other hand, a recognition somewhat grudgingly given to the undesirable consequences of the habit. It leads to a loss of working days, to quarrels and offences against the moral code. Most informants agree that the drinking habit has increased in recent years. Such a statement must be regarded with the suspicion appropriate to all attempts to glorify the good old days. It does, however, imply the existence of a critical attitude. The earliest records, which indicate conditions a hundred years ago, all mention the drinking habits of the Santal as phenomenal. It is probable that the drinking of spirits in preference to beer has grown during the time when the Santals have been drawn more completely into a money economy, and it is certain that the Congress boycott in 1930 gave more than a temporary impetus to illicit distilling. Nevertheless, there is further evidence of moral judgments being applied to drinking. The habitual drunkard is a figure of fun and regarded with contempt. The drinking of rice beer does not lead to much intoxication except during festivals. A woman who drinks to excess is considered to be loose in other respects as well. People frequently complain that whereas formerly only the old men and women used to drink, now everyone does so. It would be easy, however, to overlo the picture of a Santal conscience in these matters, for they are a pleasure-loving people and drink is associated with their pleasures. The common attitude was well expressed by an old woman who had been asked to sing when she replied: "I cannot sing without beer."

The annual hunt takes place during the hot season. This institution is still vigorous wherever there are Santals living within reach of a forest. Hunting is regarded as the characteristic activity of the male. When the date of a hunt has to be fixed, the responsibility for the arrangements and for making it known through the area rests with the *parganath*. The date may be fixed in different ways; each *pargana* follows its own tradition. In three adjoining localities the following three traditions are observed. In one the hunt is held always on the seventh day of the month of *Baisakh* (April-May). In the second it is held on the day of the full moon in the same month.

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524 GAMES--playthings (e.g., dolls, blocks, mechanical toys); games of dexterity (e.g., string figures, tops, juggling, kite flying, billiards); problem games (e.g., riddles, charades, puzzles); games of calculation (e.g., chess, checkers, card games); special childrens' games; occasions for playing games; participants and spectators; special equipment; rules; organizers and sponsors of games (e.g., cliques, clubs, churches, communities, business organizations); etc. See also:

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585 to Indian cinema music in which the syncopations of "rock 'n
495 roll" were considerably in evidence.
533 The large number of participants in a *DB* not only gives
585 testimony to affluence of the families being united but is indicative that the marriage establishes a bond between villages as well as between kin and the couple. This broader social implication is borne out by certain obligatory acts in all marriage forms but is particularly conspicuous in the two highest forms.
585 In both of these forms the concern of the entire village is most
• 524 dramatically expressed in two rites which precede the marriage, i.e., the "scold the husband song" (*jawā eger sereñ*) and the "riddle song" (*episet' seren'*). The first of these rites, which is performed in the bride's village before the marriage rite itself, involves mocking the appearance, virtue, and wealth of the groom and his party and is done by the assembled village females. The second rite is led by a collection of village representatives (*mōṛe hoṛ*) which may include any of the married men of the bride's village. They halt the groom's party along the pathway to the bride's house demanding answers to riddles. It is made to appear that the groom's party shall not be permitted to pass if the correct answers are not forthcoming. On one occasion which I observed, the correct answers were not given, so that the groom's party could only move on by the grace of the village representatives and after being somewhat humiliated. It would appear that the type of riddles posed could not be divined without prior instruction in certain traditional knowledge. One hears such riddles as the following: "What is it that tied walks and untied sits and rests?" Answer: "When you plow, then you tie the bullocks, and you tie the plow to the yoke; if you tie them they will walk and you will chase them; when you finish, you untie them, bullocks and yoke." Or to give

1: Orans E-5 (1957-1958) 1965
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585 another of a more esoteric sort: "It is made of brick and gold-
• 524 plated. The 'assistant headman' [*Jogmaṅjhi*] wants a dhoti [a traditional male garb consisting of a rectangular piece of cloth tied about the body in a variety of ways] to be given to the go-between [*raebar*] for a marriage but the 'headman' [*maṅjhi*] does not want it to be given." Answer: "This would be during an eclipse (brick and gold-plated). The 'assistant headman' would ask for the dhoti for the go-between, but the 'headman' knows about the eclipse and says no because during an eclipse no marriage can be performed." The significance of this answer lies, of course, in the superior traditional knowledge and authority of the headman.

Each time the groom's party is halted the village representatives make such remarks as "Yes, you must be put to some trouble, for you are taking a bride from us"; or "The oldest son of so-and-so has come to be married but the path is too narrow." With a lack of social understanding which perhaps can only be acquired in college, a "B.A. failed" with a bride's party at one such occasion asked with an appropriately insulting tone what the largest flower in the world was; after rejecting various witty replies, he announced that all present were fools and if they were not all so "ignorant" they would know that it was "rafflesia"!

Members of the groom's party proceed with exaggerated boasts of the great wealth they are bringing. In this and a number of other ways the involvement of the entire village of
583 the bride and that of the groom is expressed. While this is particularly true of the two highest forms of marriage, it is true to some extent even of the lesser forms which require at least the notification of the headman.

The bride-price proper (*gonoṅ*) in all forms of Santal mar-

butter, and melting the butter they make clarified butter. The butter-milk they eat themselves; they also give a share of it to poor people. 234 [735]

Fairly small boys make carts of earth and amuse themselves pulling these round about; they also make small carts of wood for them. They make bows and arrows for them, and they play shooting lizards, grasshoppers and so on with these. When they have become a little more grown up, they play ṭir and kạti[9]. 524 857

The work of small girls is to carry children on the hip, to pluck vegetables and to help their mother with something or other. When they become fairly big, they fetch water and leaves and do different kinds of work. When they are small girls, they play, pretending to prepare rice and curry from dust; when they have become a little more grown up, they dance the read-dance and they sing a good deal.

Until they grow up, boys and girls play together the following: hodol guḍu, bhela ṭaṕ ṭuṕ, sul gutu, bhiṛkại bhiṛkại, kaṇṭhaṛ dare, cạlię, simić simić, kul kul, kaora saṛae sapae, tayo tayo, pusi pusi, duṛuṕ teṅgon, jhampa, bẹt bẹt, sikṛić sikṛić, sutạm ọrọk̄, họn gujur, kitkitạ, ạitạu pạ̄iṭạu, and others[10].

g. The sorrows and pleasures of married people.

Some married people live in great peace. The husband lightens the burdens of his wife, and the wife also does the same for her husband. In the evening husband and wife consult together about their work and business. When there is any need, the husband says to his wife: For the present prepare gruel for us feeling your way; at present it is a time of scarcity. And also the wife says to her husband: Exert yourself to procure foodstuffs for us, it is coming to an end; or, the clothes of the children are being torn, how will you provide them with clothes? or, Our son has grown up, will you not look about to get us a daughter-in-law somewhere? He might perhaps commit some offence somewhere and make it difficult for us; or, The children don't listen to me, when I give them an order, how much must I speak? Scold them, so that they become afraid; or, The children are ill, let some one feel their pulse. Such good married people at once listen to each other's words. They work and get their food with one mind. 593

But some women are very bad-tempered; they irritate their husband all day long; they nag awfully, they speak angrily, and easily become sulky. The husband has never any peace. He may talk with somebody or other about something; then his wife will at once impute something bad to him. If the husband is a little late coming from somewhere, the woman will get sulky, and if he asks for water or anything, she will at once speak 578 593

[9] Ṭir is a small piece of wood, some 15 cm long, thrown by one part and met with a stick in the air by the opposite part. Kạti is a small flat piece of potsherd or of wood used in a pitch and toss game.
[10] The Santals have an astonishingly large number of games, many more than those here mentioned; to describe these would require a separate paper.

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Procedure

In case of the *Daiban Bapla*, the party goes to a *Daiban* tree with the bride or bridegroom, while music goes on. The bride (or bridegroom) and the tree are then besmeared with turmeric paste and clothed with new cloths amidst *Itut Sindur* songs, while the bride puts vermilion on the trunk of the tree. A marriage on similar lines may be gone through with either a male or a female dog (in case of a bride and bridegroom respectively); but it must be performed in the courtyard of the boy or girl to be so married. *Matkòm Bapla* or marriage with a *mòhua* tree, requires that the party should go to a *mòhua* tree with *hàṇḍia* and new cloth. Thereafter, the mother of the bridegroom (or bride) applies turmeric paste on the tree and on the person of the bride-groom (or the bride). They then circle round the tree seven times amidst music and dances. 585 588

The procession then reaches the village of the bride. There, they are welcomed cordially and housed separately. Special songs called *Manḍuar*, (*Maṇḍwa* (?) temporary shed erected on the occasion of a marriage) sung jointly by both the parties follow a hearty repast, till the bride is made ready for the marriage. 585 [533]

As they advance towards the bride's house, a party of revellers obstruct them. They would not allow them (bridegroom's party) to pass on if the [524]

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524 latter cannot answer a battery of riddles to their satisfaction. A sample of such a riddle may prove interesting reading.

Question

[539] "Sather mahisi panara kila bejor kari bundhre bala ?" (There are sixty buffaloes and fifteen posts. Can you tie them in odd numbers ?).

Now the proper answer to this riddle is to repeat the very same question with an emphasis on "jor" in "bejor" which will imply that you can tie them by force. Questions like this are put every three or four steps that the procession may advance and amidst a good deal of these amusing blockades, the party of the bridegroom reaches the bride's house at night.

585 The next step, an important one, involves the inspection of the *gònòñ* (bride-price) articles by the bride's people, the unsatisfactory ones being returned forthwith for being replaced ; and when they are thought to be all right, *Gònòñ Toṛaoni* (being food and liquor given to the bridegroom's party on payment in full of the bride-price) is supplied to the bridegroom's party. Meanwhile, the bridegroom shines as the observed of all observers in a booth, (mandwa) in front of the bride's house. Now, the [588] bride will have her first marriage with a *mòhua* tree (Santali, *Matkòm*, *Bassia Latifolia*, Roxb.), called

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of work, they take cattle to graze in meadows in the morning and come back in the after-noon. But on off-days they still shout and play like children elsewhere in the world. They prepare little bows and arrows, aim at trees and huts and at times they shoot arrows at one another. The Santal boys play a game with a piece of a pot, the shape and size of it is like a rupee. In the open field they draw a big triangle on the ground. In one corner they make a hole of two to two and a half inches in diameter. From a distance of eight to ten feet, he, who throws the piece of pot in the hole, will be king and will climb on to the loser's shoulder who is called "Dom". He in turn again tries to throw it in the hole, and if he be successful in his attempt, he will climb on to the shoulder of the other boy.

The Santal children play a game which is known as Hide and Seek. Here one of the players remains standing in some open place shutting his eyes, while others hide themselves in different secret places. From those places they give a whistling sound, on hearing which the boy who shuts his eyes runs hither and thither to find them out. The one who is first discovered now becomes the seeker.

Santal boys play another game in which two semi-circular pieces of wood and a stick of bamboo or wood of 2½ to 3 ft. are necessary. One of the two semicircular pieces is kept standing by the base just beside a hole in the earth. The other is placed about 4 to 5 ft. apart from the first one in the same way. Then one of the boys sitting behind the second one holds the stick with both hands and strikes the wood in front, and if it

4; Biswas D, E-3, 4 (1931-1945) 1956
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524 goes direct and hits the first one in such a way that it falls within the hole, then that boy will get a second chance. In this way if he be successful seven consecutive times, then he will be called king, but if he be a failure in his first attempt then he will not get any more chance. The one who is not successful has to suffer a penalty by running a few yards on one leg.